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SUBJECT: LENINGRAD LECTURERS DISCUSS SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

REF: LENINGRAD 2102

1. SUMMARY: RELATIONS WITH CHINA REMAIN FOCUS OF POPULAR
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CONCERN TO JUDGE BY AMOUNT OF ATTENTION DEVOTED TO THIS
QUESTION BY SPEAKERS IN CENTRAL LENINGRAD LECTURE HALL.
ON JULY 25, ARMY OFFICER IN UNIFORM DELIVERED DETAILED
TALK ON ALL ASPECTS OF CHINESE DEVELOPMENTS, COMBINING
STRESS ON PROFOUND CHINESE HOSTILITY TO USSR AND STEP UP
IN MILITARY PREPARATIONS FOR EVENTUAL WAR WITH REMARKS
TENDING TO DOWNPLAY CHINESE ABILITY TO THREATEN SOVIET

SECURITY IN NEAR FUTURE. IN JULY 31 QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION, LECTURER FOCUSED ON CHINESE DRIVE FOR INFLUENCE IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND DEVELOPING AREAS. END SUMMARY.

2. TONOF MUCH OF WHAT ARMY OFFICER (APPARENTLY COLONEL) G. E. FEDOROV HAD TO SAY WAS ALARMIST. IN HISTORICAL REVIEW, HE CHARGED THAT SINCE SEPTEMBER 1976, CHINA HAS STEPPED UP PREPARATIONS FOR NEW WORLD WAR, INCLUDING CIVIL DEFENSE, DEVELOPMENT OF RESERVES, EVERYTHING FOR MILITARY PRODUCTION. HE ASSERTED PRESENT POLICY GOES FAR BEYOND ANTI-SOVIETISM AND BOUNDS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND THAT ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA HAS HIT NEW PEAK OF OVER 800 HOURS A WEEK. "MAOISM IS WAR."

3. AMPLIFYING MILITARIZATION THEME, FEDOROV STRESSED NUMBER OF MILITARY MEN IN CHINESE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (45) AND STATE COUNCIL (23), ALLEGED THAT 42 PERCENT OF BUDGET IS GOING TO MILITARY, AND CLAIMED THAT ARMED FORCES HAD BEEN INCREASED BY 700,000 MEN TO REACH 4 MILLION MEN. LAND ARMY IS LARGEST IN WORLD, IT HAS 20,000 TANKS IN 12 DIVISIONS, ENORMOUS TRAINED RESERVES, 5000 PLANES INCLUDING 500 BOMBERS AND FLEET OF 1000 VESSELS, MOSTLY CUTTERS.

4. IN TERMS OF DIRECT THREAT TO USSR, LECTURER ALLEGED THAT 63 CHINESE DIVISIONS ARE POISED ALONG 11,000 KM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BORDER (INCLUDING MONGOLIA), WITH 70 PERCENT OF AIRFIELDS AND 50 PERCENT OF ALL TANKS LOCATED IN THIS AREA. QUOTING U.S. SOURCES, LECTURER ALERTED ISTENNETO FACT "IF AMERICANS ARE TO BE BELIEVED," THAT CHINESE HAVE PRODUCED NEW F-9 FIGHTER AND ADDED FIRST TWO ATOMIC POWERED VESSELS TO FLEET OF 60-70 SUBMARINES. THREE CLASSES OF ROCKETS ARE PRODUCED (600 KM, 2200 KM, AND 5,600 KM RANGE). AGAIN QUOTING U.S. SOURCES, FEDOROV SAID THAT LATTER (CALLED WIND FROM THE EAST) ARE "AIMED AT SOVIET INDUSTRY," ADDING THAT THIS AMERICAN CLAIM HAD NEVER BEEN DENIED BY CHINESE. FEDOROV CONCLUDED THAT, WHILE THREAT FROM WEST HAS NOT ALTERED, IT HAS INCREASED FROM CHINA. IN RIGOROUS TRAINING PROGRAM, CHINESE SOLDIERS ARE TAUGHT THAT STRUGGLE WITH USSR IS STRATEGIC, WAR IS INEVITABLE, IT WILL START SUDDENLY, AND WILL DETERMINE SURVIVAL OF CHINA. FEDOROV EMPHASIZED THAT THIS ATTITUDE OF CHINESE MILITARY IS SOMETHING USSR MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT, PARTICULARLY IN TRAINING ITS OWN ARMED FORCES.

5. FEDOROV PRESENTED USUAL PICTURE OF INTERNAL WEAKNESS AND DIVISION INSIDE CHINA, BUT HELD OUT NO HOPE THAT OUTCOME OF LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE WOULD ALTER CHINESE HOSTILITY

TO USSR. HE DESCRIBED PRESENT "DICTATORSHIP" AS COMBINATION OF MILITARY, BUREAUCRACY AND "REPRESSIVE APPARATUS," USING MAOISM AS ITS THEORETICAL BASE. WORKER CONSCIOUSNESS IS NOT DEVELOPED IN CHINA TODAY, THE LEADERSHIP IS PETTY BOURGEOIS IN ORIENTATION AND A DE FACTO ALLY OF IMPERIALISM. BUT FEDOROV WAS CAREFUL TO POINT OUT THAT STRUCTURE REMAINS SOCIALIST AND SOVIET PRESS HAS NEVER SAID CHINA WAS NOT SOCIALIST.

6. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO DECIPHER ALL DETAILS OF CHINESE

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INTERNAL POLITICAL SCENE, AS LECTURER REELED OFF NAMES AND BACKGROUND OF MANY CHINESE LEADERS, WITHOUT CONSULTING HIS NOTES. IT APPEARED, HOWEVER, THAT FEDOROV PLACED HUA FENG

AND TENG HSIAO-PING IN TWO DPOSING CAMPS, AND GAVE SLIGHT
EDGE, AT LEAST IN FUTURE IMPORTANCE, TO THIRD GROUP WHICH
HAS SOUGHT TO ACT AS ARBITER BETWEEN OTHER TWO FACTIONS.
THIRD GROUP IS LED APPARENTLY BY WANG TUNG-HSING; FEDOROV
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ADMONISHED AUDIENCE TO "REMEMBER THAT NAME." IT WAS
UNCLEAR WHETHER WANG WAS OFFICIAL DESCRIBED AS LOOKING LIKE
MAO AND BEING CALLED HIS "THIRD SON."

7. LECTURER, ANSWERING AUDIENCE QUESTIONS ON MARCH 31,
SAID THAT TWO MAIN PRINCIPLES OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY
WERE: (A) TO CREATE FIRM ENTENTE WITH US AT ANY PRICE;
AND (B) TO DIVIDE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, STOPPING AT
NOTHING. HE POINTED OUT THAT CHINESE CAN EXERT INFLUENCE
WHERE U.S. CANNOT. THUS, ITS EFFORTS TO PUSH THE PATRIOTIC
FRONT "TO THE RIGHT" IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SMITH
REGIME, AND ITS MOVES TO DIVIDE THE ARAB WORLD (INTER-
ALIA MEETING WITH ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO U.N) ARE PARTICU-
LARLY DANGEROUS. ARMY LECTURER SAID THAT CHINESE POLICY
IS AIMED AT DRIVING WEDGES BETWEEN COUNTRIES OF SOCIALIST
COMMONWEALTH, ENCOURAGING SOCIALIST STATES TO IMPROVE
RELATIONS WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ON PRINCIPLE THIS WILL
MAKE THEM MORE INDEPENDENT OF USSR. HE ALSO ACCUSED
PEKING OF ENCOURAGING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO FIGHT
AGAINST "WHITE WORLD (BELYI MIR), THAT IS TO SAY USSR."

8. IN FURTHER ANSWER TO AUDIENCE QUESTIONS, LECTURER
ACCUSED CHINESE OF FOLLOWING POLICY OF "DIRECT PROVOCATION
AGAINST NEIGHBORS" IN VIETNAM. IN ADDITION TO
ENCOURAGING CAMBODIAN ATTACKS ON VIETNAM, PEKING IS
EXPLOITING INFLUENCE OF 22 MILLION OVERSEAS CHINESE
LOCATED IN MALAYSIA, THAILAND, AND SOME DEGREE VIETNAM.
THESE ESSENTIALLY BOURGEOIS TRADERS SEND BACK \$30 MILLION
ANNUALLY TO CHINA. IN RESPONSE TO SPECIAL CHINESE DECREE
ON PROTECTION OF OVERSEAS CHINESE, SOME 160,000 HAVE LEFT
VIETNAM FOR CHINA. CHINESE HAVE "UNMASKED THEMSELVES" IN
THEIR NOISY CAMPAIGN ABOUT PERSECUTION OF CHINESE IN
VIETNAM, HOWEVER, BY FAILING TO REACH AGREEMENT ON FURTHER
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EVACUATION OF CHINESE DESPITE 16 MEETINGS WITH VIETNAMESE
TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION.

9. IN DISCUSSING CHINESE INFLUENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE,
BOTH SPEAKERS WERE PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF CEAUSESCU. IN

ANSWER TO AUDIENCE QUESTIONS, LECTURER SHARPLY ATTACKED ROMANIAN POSITION AT SPECIAL UN DISARMAMENT SESSION, SAYING ROMANIAN POSITION THAT BIG POWERS SHOULD DISARM FIRST BEFORE ASKING OTHERS TO DISARM WAS PARTICULARLY GRATIFYING TO CHINA. YUGOSLAVIA WAS DESCRIBED AS OCCUPYING A "MIDDLE" POSITION, NOT FULLY SUPPORTING CHINA BUT BEING INTERESTED IN BROADENING RELATIONS.

10. THERE WAS OBVIOUSLY AUDIENCE INTEREST IN ALBANIA SINCE ITS BREAK WITH CHINA. ANSWERING QUESTION ON SUBJECT, LECTURER DISCUSSED HOW MUCH CHINA HAD DONE FOR ALBANIA, INCLUDING SENDING 6,000 CHINESE TO WORK THERE. BUT WHEN MAO DIED, ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP CONSIDERED THAT SUCCESSOR LEADERSHIP HAD BETRAYED MARXIST-LENINISM IN ITS THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS AND WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF CHINESE POLICY TOWARD VIETNAM, HELD UP AS EXAMPLE OF HEROIC NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE. REFLECTING ITS VIEW THAT CHINA HAD FORFEITED LEADERSHIP ROLE, ALBANIA MADE EFFORT TO TAKE OVER MAOIST GROUPS IN WESTERN EUROPE. SPECULATING ON FUTURE COURSE OF ALBANIA, LECTURER EXPRESSED DOUBT ITALY OR FRANCE WILL SUCCEED IN TAKING CHINA'S PLACE. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ALBANIA MIGHT REINTEGRATE ITSELF INTO WARSAW PACT BUT SAID THAT "APPARENTLY THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN." TIRANA REMAINS AS STRONGLY ANTI-SOVIET AS EVER.

11. ACCORDING ARMY OFFICER, MAIN GOAL OF CHINESE POLICY IS TO SHARPEN CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN US AND USSR.

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CHINA'S POLICY IS TO "SIT ON MOUNTAIN TOP" AND WATCH WHILE "TWO TIGERS" (U.S. AND USSR) EAT EACH OTHER UP, THEN TO COME DOWN FROM MOUNTAIN AND BUILD COMMUNISM. LECTURER CLAIMED USSR HAS DONE EVERYTHING IT CAN TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH PEKING: PROPOSING PLEDGES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND NON-USE OF FORCE, INCREASES IN BORDER TRADE, SINO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY ACTIVITY, IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXCHANGES OF JOURNALISTS. BUT CHINA HAS SAID IT WOULD NOT EXTEND 1950 FRIENDSHIP TREATY, AND IT HAS CONTINUED TO MAKE UNACCEPTABLE DEMANDS IN RECENTLY RENEWED BORDER TALKS, E.G., ASKING USSR TO ACKNOWLEDGE EXISTENCE OF 33,000 SQ. KMS OF DISPUTED TERRITORY, SEND SOVIET TROOPS AWAY FROM BORDER AND FROM MONGOLIA, IN EFFECT ULTIMATA. CHINESE HAS CLAIMS ALSO AGAINST OTHER NEIGHBORS BESIDE USSR, AMOUNTING IN ALL TO AROUND 5 MILLION SQ. KMS.

12. LENINGRADERS ARE OBVIOUSLY INTRIGUED BY JULY 23 ANNOUNCEMENT IN CENTRAL (NOT LENINGRAD) PRESS THAT ILYA SERGEEVICH SHCHERBAKOV WOULD REPLACE FORMER LENINGRAD OBKOM FIRST SECRETARY TOLSTIKOV AS AMBASSADOR TO CHINA. LECTURERS ARGUED SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVELY THAT SUCH CHANGES ARE ROUTINE, AND MADE FOR REASONS OF AGE OR TENURE IN JOB. CIVILIAN LECTURER WENT ON TO NOTE THAT IT WAS COMMON PRACTICE TO GIVE HIGH PARTY OFFICIALS SOME DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCE, AS SHOWN BY RECENT APPOINTMENT OF GORKOM FIRST SECRETARY ARISTOV TO POLAND. ARMY OFFICER SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT TOLSTIKOV WOULD BE DOING NEXT.

13. IN CONCLUSION, HAVING BUILT UP PICTURE OF CHINESE THREAT, ARMY OFFICER WARNED AUDIENCE AGAINST EXAGGERATING IMMEDIATE DANGER, SAYING SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH IS FULLY CAPABLE OF DEFENDING ITSELF. HE NOTED THAT BREZHNEV'S TRIP TO FAR EAST PARTIALLY SERVED A MILITARY PURPOSE.

REGARDING RELATIVE STRENGTH OF TWO SIDES IN FAR EAST,
HE AGAIN QUOTED U.S. SOURCES TO EFFECT SOVIET ARMY IS
SMALLER THAN CHINESE BUT HAS MUCH BIGGER PUNCH. ASKED
ABOUT CHINESE SPACE PROGRAM, HE REPLIED THAT PEKING HAD
ONLY BEEN ABLE PUT UP EIGHT SPY SATELLITES BECAUSE ITS
MIDDLE RANGE ROCKETS ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY POWERFUL TO PUT
UP LARGER PACKAGE. LECTURER DECLINED TO COMMENT ON
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CHINA'S SUPPLY SITUATION IN EVENT OF WAR, BUT HE SAID WAR
WAS UNLIKELY NOW SINCE CHINESE ARE NOT READY. BUCHANAN

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